

# THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY

VOL. XLIII, No. 7

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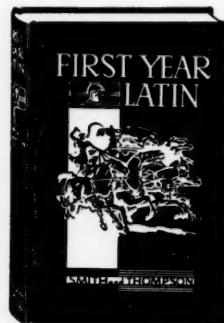
JANUARY 16, 1950

WHOLE No. 1109

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## THE LANGUAGE OF LEADERS



A frontal attack upon a common misprision of the richest legacy of our contemporary civilization has been long overdue, and it is heartening to find that academic institutions are bringing more and more emphasis to bear in the interests of the civilized mind.

Greek and Latin are dead languages only to such as know little and care less for the wealth of direction, suggestion, wisdom, and beauty they offer.

They generated the revival of learning. They were the dynamos of the Renaissance. They provided the cultural base for the brilliant 18th century. They wove their magic spell over the 19th, in its noblest hours of creative productivity.

They became, and remain, twin organ voices, hymning the message of the humanities to all generations that have followed: the wisdom, the experience, the adventures, the experiments, the achievements and the frustrations of two extraordinarily endowed peoples, one of whom builded reason and beauty to heights never attained since, the other of whom proffered statecraft, law and the political institutions of human society a set of models to which man has inveterately turned for guidance with his everpresent social uncertainties.

*The Boston Globe*

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THE CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF THE ATLANTIC STATES

*Forty-Third Annual Meeting*

FRIDAY AND SATURDAY, APRIL 14 AND 15, 1950

at

LEHIGH UNIVERSITY

BETHLEHEM, PENNSYLVANIA

with the cooperation of

THE CLASSICAL LEAGUE OF THE LEHIGH VALLEY

and

THE LEHIGH VALLEY CHAPTER OF  
THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL INSTITUTE OF AMERICA

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THE PROGRAM IN OUTLINE

The first session for the reading of papers will be on Friday afternoon, April 14. The Annual Dinner Meeting will be held in the evening of the same day. The second session for the reading of papers will be on Saturday morning, April 15. The Annual Business Meeting of the Association will be held in the early afternoon, and will be followed by the third session for the reading of papers. The convention will be concluded by a social hour, at which time tea will be served to the members and friends of the participating societies as the guests of Lehigh University.

Please note that, with the exception of the Annual Business Meeting of the Association, all the sessions, including the Annual Dinner Meeting, will be open to all interested persons. Your friends, professional or otherwise, will be cordially welcomed, as well as your students.

The complete program will be published about March 1.

GENERAL INFORMATION

**Transportation.** Lehigh University is situated on the South Side of Bethlehem. This city is easily accessible by the main line of the Lehigh Valley Railroad running between Buffalo and New York City; by the Reading Railroad, providing service from Philadelphia; by the Jersey Central Lines running between New York City and Harrisburg; and by all major bus lines. Taxi service is the most satisfactory means of transportation between railroad stations, the University, and the convention headquarters.

**Hotel Accommodations.** The Hotel Bethlehem will be the convention headquarters. Room rates per diem are: *Rooms without bath*, Single: \$2.50, \$3.00, \$3.50; Double bed: \$4.00, \$4.50, \$5.00; Twin beds: \$5.50; *Rooms with bath*, Single: \$3.50, \$3.75, \$4.00, \$4.50; Double bed: \$5.00, \$5.50, \$5.75, \$6.00, \$6.50; Twin beds: \$7.00, \$7.50. Persons desiring to stop at the hotel should make reservations with the Manager of the Hotel Bethlehem *well in advance of the date of the meeting*.

# THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY

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## TOYNBEE AND THE CLASSICS

Classicists are not used to counting authors of best-selling books or national or international celebrities as members of their own modest group. Yet Arnold J. Toynbee may well be claimed and acclaimed as a Classicist not only on account of his training but also because his work testifies on almost every page to the author's understanding of the Classics and to his interest in the achievements of Hellenic civilization.<sup>1</sup> In fact, in an essay entitled "My View of History," he says specifically, "For any would-be historian—and especially for one born into these times—a classical education is, in my belief, a priceless boon."<sup>2</sup> It seems reasonable that we should like to know what Toynbee has to say about the study of Classical Literature and about the historical position of the Classics within (or outside of) Western Civilization.

### I. THE RABBINICAL WAY

In a lecture delivered many years ago and perhaps re-written for publication in *Civilization on Trial*, Toynbee makes many interesting observations on the subject "The Graeco-Roman Civilization," but none is more startling than his statement: "... our own traditional way of

<sup>1</sup> Toynbee received an old fashioned education in Greek and Latin Classics at Winchester and Balliol. In 1912, he returned to Balliol, after a year spent in Greece, and taught Ancient History until 1915. From 1919 to 1924 he was the first Koras Professor of Modern Greek and Byzantine Studies at King's College, University of London. Since 1925 he has served as Director of Studies at the Royal Institute of International Affairs.

<sup>2</sup> Reprinted in A. J. Toynbee, *Civilization on Trial* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1948), p. 4; this book is hereafter cited as *CT*.

studying the Greek and Latin classics is derived from the Jewish way of studying the Law and the Prophets. In other words, we handle these Greek and Latin books in an utterly different way from that in which they were used, and were meant to be used, by their authors...<sup>3</sup> An interesting illustration of the "Rabbincal way" in which we are accustomed to study the Classics is given by James T. Shotwell in his characterization of the Holy Bible:

Suppose that the heritage of Hellas had been preserved to us in the form of a Bible. What would be the character of the book? We should begin, perhaps, with a few passages from Hesiod on the birth of the gods and the dawn of civilization mingled with fragments of the *Iliad* and both set into long excerpts from Herodotus. The dialogues of Plato might be given by Homeric heroes and the text of the great dramatists (instead of the prophets) be preserved, interspersed one with another and clogged with the uninspired and uninspiring comments of Alexandrian savants. Then imagine that... the large part of this composite work of history and philosophy had been first written down by Solon as the deliverance of the oracle of Zeus at Dodona.<sup>4</sup>

In the light of Toynbee's comment it would seem that Shotwell gave a fairly accurate account of what some Classicists consider the core of Classical Civilization.

No doubt the Classicist, like the Biblical scholar, is well aware of the historical as well as the spiritual differences between the various books of the Classical Scripture, but they both maintain that there is a common denominator which reveals the organic unity of their respective traditions. This denominator is to be found in the very definition of the term "Classical" as it is

<sup>3</sup> *CT*, p. 43.

<sup>4</sup> J. T. Shotwell, *The History of History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1939), I, 110-11.

applied to authors as far apart in time as Homer and Cicero, and its nature is found in a set of standards common to all the accepted documents of the tradition. This "normative" approach enables some Classicists to teach courses on Classical Civilization in which the works of Homer, Sophocles, Plato, and Cicero are merely representative witnesses. More than that, even the individual discipline, be it literature, philosophy, mythology, or art, is conceived in terms of the final revelation of the Classical norm. Thus the principle of development is presented as the gradual change in the direction of the Classical ideal which was realized in the different fields at different periods, but the realization of which is of the same normative character and classical quality for all. If seen in this way, all classical authors and artists expressed the same idea, but in different words and by different means, just as the various "authors" of the Holy Bible all sang the praises of one and the same God.

Historical writing itself offers a good illustration of the "Rabbincal method" which "makes one inclined to think of life in terms of books instead of *vice versa*. The opposite method—which is the Greek line of approach—is to study books not just for their own sake, but also because they are the key to the life of the people who wrote them."<sup>5</sup> Modern works on Ancient History, whether written in the critical and scientific form of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries or in the more universal form of chronicles used from Roman times to the eighteenth century, have a tendency towards unanimity, based either on the concept of "Truth" or on the equally commanding principle of tradition. "The hallmark of veracious history is the consensus, on identical points, of all students and writers. . . ."<sup>6</sup> This statement was made almost two thousand years ago, but, although written in Greek, it was said of Oriental historical writing in contrast to the works of the Greek historians, who were said to ". . . make the most contradictory statements on identical points." The author of this statement, Flavius Josephus, illustrated his concept of veracious history by referring to the books of the Bible: "During the vast period which has elapsed since their composition, no one has ventured to add to them or to subtract from them or to transpose their arrangement." It is quite evident that Josephus is correct in his analysis of Greek historical writing; its very nature and quality lies in its originality. The Greek historians were interested in telling a good story which was new, and each one of them was eager to criticize his predecessors. Thus the main course of Greek history, as it appears in our standard text books, old and new, is not in accordance with Greek historical thinking and practice. Our

<sup>5</sup> *CT*, p. 44.

<sup>6</sup> This and the two succeeding quotations are from the Preface of Josephus *Contra Apionem*, admirably translated by Toynbee in his *Greek Historical Thought* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1924), pp. 51-60, at pp. 55, 54, and 57-58.

treatment of Greek literature reveals the same un-Greek attitude. We are literal minded and authoritarian in our acceptance or rejection of the words of Homer or of one of the later poets, while the ancients in their most creative period never thought of an established text but considered their literary production as scripts, freely open to changes, alterations, additions, and deletions.<sup>7</sup>

## II. PHILOSOPHICAL CONTEMPORANEITY

One may well ask whether there is an alternative to the normative approach to the Classics, for there is no doubt that the traditional idealization of the Classics is slowly losing its hold on our educational system. All would agree, moreover, that considerations of utility, though applicable in detail, are unsatisfactory to Classicists and non-Classicists alike. There is another approach which is almost as old as the normative, the historical. According to it, Classical Civilization in all of its aspects marks the first stage of Western Civilization. It is claimed, moreover, that the Greeks and Romans made such enormous contributions, historically speaking, to virtually all parts of our civilization that knowledge of these contributions must be a prerequisite to any understanding of our own world.<sup>8</sup> Yet this justified claim of historical significance has tended to obscure or even to obliterate the true value of the Classics. For the very concept of historical perspective implied that achievements nearer to us in time than those of the Greeks and Romans were of even greater importance to us. Moreover, the assumption of a gradual cultural development from ancient to modern times encouraged the view that the significant contributions of the ancients may just as well be gleaned from the art and literature of periods closer in time to our own, and therefore easier for us to understand.

It is perhaps in his re-examination of the historical approach that Toynbee has made the most original contribution to our understanding of the Classics. First of all, Toynbee denies the validity of one of the favorite arguments of the supporters of the historical approach when he says: "Graeco-Roman history is visible to us in perspective and can be seen by us as a whole, because it is over. . . ."<sup>9</sup> This observation applies not only to political and military history but also to the history of art, literature, and philosophy. In fact, Toynbee insists that one of the great advantages in studying Graeco-Roman history lies in the fact that

. . . the conveniently manageable amount of evidence that has survived is not overweighed by the state papers of parochial

<sup>7</sup> Cf. *CT*, p. 42.

<sup>8</sup> This view has been re-stated by Karl Jaspers ("Die Achsenzeit," in *Vom Ursprung und Ziel der Geschichte* [Zürich: Artemis-Verlag, 1949], pp. 18-43), who insists that the turning point of world history lies in the period from 800 to 200 B.C., when modern man was created.

<sup>9</sup> *CT*, p. 4. A similar idea is expressed by Livy (*Praef.* 10).

principalities. . . . Statues, poems, and works of philosophy count here for more than the texts of laws and treaties. . . . The poets and the philosophers outrange the historians; while the prophets and the saints overtop and outlast them all.<sup>10</sup>

Modern critics of a classical education often claim that the ancients were particularly lacking in all interest in, and understanding of, the social-economic problems which engage so much of our attention. The Classicist will reply that the fundamental questions involved in these problems, such as social justice, are moral issues, indeed, and that they have been treated as such by many moral philosophers. C. B. Welles observes that ". . . at any time prior to the eighteenth century, the discipline of economics was hardly isolated from that of politics, and that in turn from ethics. Plato would have agreed with those of us who wish to deal with the social sciences as a unit."<sup>11</sup>

If Toynbee maintains that Hellenic civilization and our own are separate, one may ask why we should concern ourselves with the Hellenic rather than with any other of the several civilizations which belong to the past. In the first place, "the surviving materials for a study of Graeco-Roman history are not only manageable in quantity and select in quality; they are also well balanced in their character."<sup>12</sup> This claim cannot be made for any other civilization of which we know. "The Hellenic Civilization is perhaps the finest flower of the species that has ever yet come to bloom . . . [it] still outshines every other civilization that has ever come into existence up to the present."<sup>13</sup> Far more important is the fact that Hellenic civilization has a special relationship to our own; it is our mother civilization, and there should be an affinity between the two civilizations, just as the life of a daughter may follow the general pattern of her mother's life. ". . . our Western Society has been found to be 'affiliated' to a now extinct society which we have called the Hellenic."<sup>14</sup>

It is the affinity of the two civilizations which really matters, and Toynbee has greatly contributed to our understanding of this relationship by calling to our attention the fact that Hellenic Civilization and our own are "philosophically contemporary": as he expresses it, ". . . Jesus' Palestine and Plato's Greece were more potently operative than Alfred's or Elizabeth's England in the lives of English men and women of the Victorian age."<sup>15</sup> During the first World War he felt that

10 *CT*, pp. 4-5.

11 C. B. Welles, "The Economic Background of Plato's Communism," in *The Tasks of Economic History* (= *Journal of Economic History*, Supplement VIII [1948]), p. 101.

12 *CT*, p. 4.

13 A. J. Toynbee, *A Study of History* (London: Oxford University Press, 1934-39), II (1935), 315-16.

14 *Ibid.*, I (1934), 51.

15 *CT*, p. 6.

The experience that we were having in our world now had been experienced by Thucydides in his world already. . . . Thucydides, it now appeared, had been over this ground before. He and his generation had been ahead of me and mine in the stage of historical experience that we had respectively reached; in fact, his present had been my future. But this made nonsense of the chronological notation which registered my world as 'modern' and Thucydides' world as 'ancient.' Whatever chronology might say, Thucydides' world and my world had now proved to be philosophically contemporary.<sup>16</sup>

One should not be misled into thinking that this contemporaneity applies only to political and military history; it is equally pertinent in the fields of art, literature, and philosophy. The obscurity and learning for which modern poetry is conspicuous find their parallels in Greek as well as Latin literature of a cosmopolitan, not universal, character. Toynbee himself, in his introduction to *Greek Historical Thought* (written in 1924), insisted that

. . . the capital and almost irreparable error to be avoided by a modern Western mind in approaching any branch of Hellenic literature is to allow itself to be dominated by the thought that all this was done and felt and written between two and three thousand years ago—as though chronological antiquity implied, in this case, any corresponding *naïveté* or poverty of experience . . . the remote past embodied in foreign civilizations may be subjectively nearer to the life of our own day than is the recent past out of which our life has arisen.<sup>17</sup>

If this statement is true, certain periods of ancient history must show an affinity to our own time. Toynbee was unable to resist the temptation of indicating such a correspondence, but he added, "The 'curves' of Western and Hellenic history do not correspond. In Hellenic the highest peak was reached (and never again equated) during the two centuries between the years 525 and 325 B.C.," while ". . . the West, as a whole, rose to greater heights of selfexpression . . . between about the year 1775 and the European War."<sup>18</sup> This was written in 1924; Toynbee did not elaborate at the time on this possibility of a comparison which assumes a typological rather than a chronological correspondence of the two 'affiliated' civilizations. Yet at a later date he recognized more clearly the close relationship between the two great periods of Hellenic and Western civilization. It was during the first World War that historians both in Germany and among the Allies began to reread the work of Thucydides with new attention and with better understanding, and the impression of the timeliness of the Attic historian has grown ever since and is very potent to-day.<sup>19</sup>

Toynbee himself omitted, perhaps wisely, to describe in detail the character of the crisis which inspired Thucydides to write his work, and which is comparable to the crisis in which we find ourselves now. But even a casual reader of Thucydides knows that it was a moral

16 *CT*, pp. 7-8.

17 Toynbee, *op. cit.* (note 6, above), p. xiii.

18 *Ibid.*, pp. xv-xvi.

19 Cf. the quotation corresponding to note 16, above.

crisis, and there is little doubt that we are suffering to-day from a break-down of our moral standards. A colleague of mine has observed:

... there has been growing up in men's minds, dominated as they are by science, a new imaginative picture of the world. The world, according to this new picture, is purposeless, senseless, meaningless. Nature is nothing but matter in motion. . . . This is the great revolution of which I spoke. It is this which has killed religion. . . . [Religion] cannot get on with a purposeless and meaningless universe. . . . Along with the ruin of the religious vision there went the ruin of moral principles and indeed of all values. . . . Thus it came to be believed that moral rules must be merely an expression of our own likes and dislikes. But likes and dislikes are notoriously variable. What pleases one man, people, or culture, displeases another. Therefore morals are wholly relative. . . . This doctrine of the relativity of morals . . . was thus really implicit in the whole scientific mentality. . . . The widespread belief in "ethical relativity" among philosophers, psychologists, ethnologists, and sociologists is the theoretical counterpart of the repudiation of principle which we see all around us, especially in international affairs, the field in which morals have always had the weakest foothold. No one any longer effectively believes in moral principles except as the private prejudices either of individual men or of nations or cultures. This is the inevitable consequence of the doctrine of ethical relativity. . . .

This analysis of our own crisis, so eloquently presented by Walter Stace,<sup>20</sup> applies at the same time to the crisis of Thucydides' day. Stace should, therefore, not have asserted that this "... crisis in man's spiritual condition is something unique in history for which there is no sort of analogy in the past."<sup>21</sup> Thucydides, like Stace, felt that the established religious and moral order had come to an end, but we may, guided by Toynbee, discover that the ruins described by these critics were re-assembled by Plato, who created a new and most glorious building which has withstood the test of time. It is not surprising, therefore, that Theodore M. Greene (formerly of Princeton, now of Yale), in his reply to Stace,<sup>22</sup> used, perhaps unwittingly, many of Plato's arguments against the intellectual relativism and nihilism of the Sophists. For there is little doubt they were the villains in the Greek Tragedy. Although the Sophists added greatly to the glory of classical culture, they also contributed to its downfall at the end of the fifth century B.C. Moreover, not only did Sophistic thinking dominate the minds of Athenian conservatives and radicals alike, but the Sophistic principle of expediency was adhered to both by the Athenians and by their adversaries.

Stace seems to think that the villains in our Tragedy are the Natural Scientists, but their views on morals and religion are decidedly neutral, if not conservative and traditional. The real villain is the Social Scientist, who is ever present in our educational institutions as

well as in our government, among our radicals as well as in the ranks of the conservatives, in Communist Russia, in Socialist Britain, and in Capitalist America. It is he who uses the "scientific" methods of psychology and statistics in order to explain and to solve moral problems and issues, just as the Sophist had used logic and eloquence. Plato devoted his life's work to the philosophic repudiation of Sophistic thinking, but he admired the rise of medical and mathematical science.

### III. *PAX AMERICANA*

Toynbee's concept of philosophical contemporaneity has proved useful for our understanding of one example of historical analogy. This example, the moral crisis of our day, has indicated the timeliness and urgency of Classical studies, but its pertinence is confined to the spiritual aspects of our crisis. Sceptics may say that there is little if any analogy between our time and Thucydides' Athens in regard to the political and military problems which occupy so much of our attention. Americans, in particular, may ask where their place is in terms of the Greek mother civilization.

Here again, Toynbee offers an answer which is not only satisfactory in itself, but which also leads to the recognition of Toynbee's own position in our world. In a lecture delivered in 1926, and brought up to date under the title "The Dwarffing of Europe" in *Civilization on Trial*, Toynbee examines the position of America after the first World War. "The United States had changed, almost in the twinkling of an eye, from being the greatest debtor country in the world to being the greatest creditor country . . . some such reversal was . . . inherent in the previous situation, and would have taken place—though no doubt more gently and gradually—even if these wars [the first and second World Wars] had never been fought."<sup>23</sup> In this process, Ancient Greece anticipated modern Europe: "The city-states of Greece found themselves dwarfed by the greater powers . . . which arose around the Mediterranean after the expansion of the Greek civilization in the age of Alexander; and Greece then became at once the pilgrimage resort, the university, and the battlefield of these new Hellenized powers."<sup>24</sup> Similarly, the European national states "are now being dwarfed under our eyes by the United States of America."<sup>25</sup> Toynbee thinks that "the Europeans of to-day, like . . . the Greeks of the third century B.C., are well aware of their peril."<sup>26</sup> He declares, moreover, "... if Eastern Europe is to be associated with the Soviet Union . . . and Western Europe with the United States . . . , the division of Europe [Toynbee uses the word 'partition'

<sup>20</sup> *The Atlantic Monthly*, CLXXXII, No. 3, September 1948, pp. 54-55.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 56.

<sup>22</sup> *The Atlantic Monthly*, CLXXXIII, No. 4, April 1949, pp. 45-49.

<sup>23</sup> *CT*, pp. 112-13.

<sup>24</sup> *CT*, p. 117.

<sup>25</sup> *CT*, p. 118.

<sup>26</sup> *CT*, p. 120.

in the preceding sentence] between these two titanic non-European powers is the most significant feature of the new map to a European eye."<sup>27</sup> And Toynbee concludes his visionary account by saying "... it looks as though 'Pan-Europa' had already become an anachronism without our ever having had an opportunity of creating her; and West Europeans need not regret that 'Pan-Europa' has been still-born if they are offered the alternative of entering into an all but world-wide association."<sup>28</sup>

Toynbee evidently encourages the reader to consider the relation between America and Europe in the light of the relation between Rome and Greece. Classicists will need but a few hints in order to realize all the implications contained in this comparison. The pressure from the East menaces Europe no less to-day than it menaced Greece, especially during the third and second centuries B.C. In both instances, the menacing Eastern powers appear culturally influenced by European and Hellenic civilizations respectively; and the cultural dependence of Rome on Greece was no greater than is our dependence on Europe. Philhellenic imperialism was in conflict with anti-Hellenic isolationism, just as American sentiments are divided on this point, with isolationism in both cases being condemned by circumstances to develop into a nostalgic nationalism, a dreaming of the good old days of the Republic. Within Greece, the internal struggles—the attempts at domination as well as at unification on a confederate basis—resemble the history of Europe since the end of the Holy Roman Empire. The formation of the Roman Empire was as much based on its excellent constitution and administration as is the formation of the American Empire which we are witnessing to-day. The difficulties of securing competent and incorruptible foreign administration is as much a problem with us as in Rome during the last two centuries of the Republic. The security and the prosperity of Hellenic Civilization from the middle of the second century B.C. until the end of Antiquity, that is, for more than half a millennium, depended as much on the maintenance of the *Pax Romana*, the peace controlled by Rome, as the future security and prosperity of the Western world and its civilization depend, to an ever increasing extent, on the *Pax Americana*, the peace guaranteed and maintained by the United States.

Such considerations should offer a great deal of encouragement to Classical Studies in a country which, in Toynbee's opinion, is destined to play in our world the part played by Rome in the history of Hellenic Civilization. And even the marked lack of interest in Classical, and for that matter in European, studies finds its meaningful counterpart in the anti-Hellenic and narrowly nationalist Italic sentiments which were dominant in

Rome during the hundred years preceding the Ciceronian age.

#### IV. POLYBIUS REDIVIVUS

There remains one attractive point of comparison between the ancient and the modern worlds, which seems to have been missed by Toynbee, perhaps because it concerns him personally. One cannot read his analysis of America's growing influence without being impressed by his appreciation of a country which is not his own. Moreover, his position as Director of Studies in the highly practical Royal Institute of International Affairs, and his previous official association with his country's government provide an interesting background for his *Study of History* with its sweeping universality. This combination of practical experience in international affairs and theoretical, almost philosophical, interest in world history, coupled as it is with the recognition of the dwarfing of his own country's position in the world, may remind one of the life and work of another historian who occupied in Hellenic Civilization a place comparable to Toynbee's in the world of to-day: Polybius.

When Rome was embarking upon the extension of her empire into the Greek East, fully unaware, so we think, of the consequences which this conquest was to have in the history of the world, a Greek historian went (involuntarily, to be sure) to Rome. There he began to write of the manifest destiny of that power which was about to destroy the delicate "independence" of the various Greek cities, states, and confederations. He had been active as a politician in the Achaean League, the territory of which was considerably smaller than that of the island of Sicily, then a small province of the Roman Empire. Polybius began his work as a narrative of the fifty years during which Rome conquered the then known world (ca. 220-170), but it turned out to be more than that. It was a critical examination of the inevitability of Rome's conquest, a laudation of the political and military institutions of the Roman Republic, and an affirmation of the permanent character of the newly formed Empire. Polybius may not have been the first Greek who tried to understand Rome, but he was the first to tell the Romans what they did not know about themselves and about the Empire they had just conquered.

Toynbee devotes an illuminating chapter to Polybius,<sup>29</sup> emphasizing his peculiar combination of practical and theoretical activities, a combination which is so characteristic of Toynbee himself.

The general situation [Toynbee wrote, apparently before 1933] was one with which we are familiar; but in the Hellenic world of Polybius's day this situation worked itself up to a climax—and out to a catastrophe—which our Western World has hitherto

<sup>27</sup> *CT*, p. 124.

<sup>28</sup> *CT*, p. 125. For an admirably persuasive application of this concept, cf. E. C. Echols, "Macedon and Germany," *CW*, XLIII (1949-50), 74-76.

<sup>29</sup> *Op. cit.* (note 13, above), III (1935), pp. 310-18.

escaped.... Let us hope that the history of the comparable relations between a latter-day Great Society [America, no doubt] and Europe may be no more unhappy than this during the centuries to come. For the history of the relations between the Hellenic Great Society [presumably Rome] and Greece in the lifetime of Polybius shows that a general situation of this kind is fraught with potential dangers which may work out to a disastrous outcome.... In this deadly warfare on Greek battle-fields between 'barbarian' Powers, a helpless and defenceless Greece suffered only less severely than the vanquished titans.<sup>30</sup>

Of the historian himself, Toynbee says:

... although this panoramic history of his own times was Polybius's life-work, it was not as a historian that he started his career; for all the circumstances of his birth and upbringing drew him in his youth towards the life of a practical politician.... Thus Polybius was brought up [just like Toynbee] in a social milieu in which there was a long tradition of public service; and he went into politics as a matter of course.... Polybius's life was an alternation between periods of compulsory withdrawal from practical politics and other periods of painful return to public affairs.... In this strange alternation between periods of enforced leisure and other periods of strenuous participation in public affairs, Polybius continued, through his personal merit, to gain experience and to win distinction while all the World around him, including Rome herself, ... was going to wrack and ruin; and as he 'watched the workings of Fortune' and learnt to 'know her genius for envious dealing with Mankind,' ... he answered her challenge by transmuting his unemployed ability and frustrated zeal for practical politics into the literary activity of 'depicting the operation of the laws of Fortune upon the grand scale' in an encyclopedic history of his own times.... In this work, Polybius the historian has performed an act of creation which could never have been emulated by Polybius the politician....<sup>31</sup>

No higher compliment can be paid to Toynbee than to apply to his own efforts the praise he has given to the work of Polybius.

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### SOME POSSIBLE DECLAMATORY PROTOTYPES

Greek counterparts of certain Senecan themes are indicated in T. S. Simonds' dissertation;<sup>1</sup> and since he has listed (pp. 71-81) the parallels between Seneca and pseudo-Quintilian, his work performs, within those limits, the same service for the later compiler. To the best of my knowledge, however, no one has tried to trace pseudo-Quintilian's indebtedness more fully. Considering the multitude of ancient treatises on rhetoric and the limited body of such matter which has been preserved, it would be presumptuous to claim dogmatically that particular themes were taken directly from a surviving source—the more so as exact duplication is seldom encountered. Nevertheless, general resemblances

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 310-12.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 313-17.

<sup>1</sup> *The Themes Treated by the Elder Seneca* (Baltimore, 1896).

sometimes seem too close for coincidence, and in other instances major details correspond most remarkably.

Theon's *Progymnasmata* allude to typical characters that figure in pseudo-Quintilian's *Declamationes minores*; for example, the traitorous general (*DM* 337), the man committing assault and battery in a temple (265), and the son who strikes his father (358, 372).<sup>2</sup> But they contain no really adequate statement of parallel themes. That one encounters rather in a work of Hermogenes, *Peri tōn staseōn* (i.e., *De controversiis*). Several of its cases are identical, or virtually so: (A) A rich young man supports disinherited sons, and is accused of aiming at tyranny;<sup>3</sup> this theme is reproduced in *DM* 260. (B) A youth is charged with tyrannical design when he fixes his gaze on the citadel and weeps;<sup>4</sup> in *DM* 267 the accusation is made (more plausibly) against a tyrant who, having resigned his power under a guarantee of immunity, is detected in the same act. (C) A farmer disowns his son for becoming a Cynic philosopher;<sup>5</sup> the characters are changed in pseudo-Quintilian, the farmer of Hermogenes becoming a lawyer in *DM* 283, and the son a parasite in *DM* 298.

A lesser, but still striking, degree of resemblance exists between Hermogenes' example of *syllogismos* (Latin *ratiocinatio*) concerning a man who, though the law sanctioned killing, had merely whipped an exile for returning illegally within the bounds of the state,<sup>6</sup> and *DM* 305, in which a rich man, catching two poor enemies in the same violation, had compelled them to fight each other to the death with swords.

It is conceivable that Hermogenes elsewhere provided suggestions for themes developed quite differently. For instance, he recounts the case of a man who, being called upon to repay a loan with interest, declared that the money was a deposit, on which he owed no interest, but when the state abolished all existing debts, reversed himself and refused to pay anything, claiming the benefits of the cancellation;<sup>7</sup> pseudo-Quintilian *DM* 336 deals with a dispute between two brothers, of whom the younger had, after their father's death, turned over to the elder a piece of land left to them jointly, on condition that the latter assume responsibility for any debts against the estate, and after a decree was passed by the state wiping out all debt had vainly sought to regain an equal share of the land. Again, in Hermogenes there is given as an example of *paragraphē* (Latin *praescriptio*, 'judicial exception') the case of a man tried

<sup>2</sup> The first two are found on page 106, lines 12 f., the third on page 130, lines 29 f., of L. Spengel's *Rhetores Graeci* (Leipzig, 1853-56), II.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 146, lines 5-6.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 147, lines 6-8.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 139, lines 21-22.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 172, lines 24-26.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 136, lines 2-6.

for murder and acquitted, who, afterward consulting an oracle and being told that the god gave no responses to murderers, was brought to trial again on the same charge;<sup>8</sup> *DM* 314 is delivered against a judge who, when a man accused of parricide and acquitted by an even division of the jurors' votes began to rave, crying out repeatedly in his frenzy "I killed you, father," inflicted the same penalty against him as if he had confessed before the verdict. Finally, the Greek treatise contains the story of a man who claimed and was awarded as his prize for extraordinary valor the privilege of usurping another man's priestly office; each man had a son, and after their fathers' deaths, the young men contested the right of succession to the priesthood.<sup>9</sup> *Pseudo-Quintilian DM* 312 narrates that a soldier asked a comrade in arms for the return of a deposit, which the latter denied, feeling secure in his knowledge that the transaction had been private; the outraged claimant killed the other soldier and himself, and subsequently his heir made the same demand on the slain soldier's heir.

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#### LATIN IN THE SCHOOLS OF WASHINGTON, D. C.

Latin has received some very favorable, even if slightly misleading, publicity in Washington recently. In the *Evening Star* of December 7, 1949, under the heading, "Latin Becoming Most Popular High School Language Course," a very sprightly account is given of the status of Latin in the District schools. The reporter, who had been commissioned to find out why Latin was such a "dead" language in the District schools, changed her approach after she had talked with Miss Emilie Margaret White, head of the Department of Foreign Languages. She reports: "About 11 percent of the students in senior high schools last year [1948-49] signed up for Latin, and 15 percent of the junior high school students chose it. In both cases, the students picked it over electives usually regarded as more colorful."

For the preceding year comparative figures with the other languages are given. Junior high schools: 17 percent Latin, 9.5 percent French, 7.7 Spanish. Senior high schools: 11.5 percent Latin, 9.9 French, 9.5 Spanish, and 3.4 German.

Apparently these figures and the teaching methods used were amazing both to the reporter and to her editor. At any rate, an editorial appeared the next day

in the *Star* entitled "Revival of a 'Dead' Language." Because of its interesting comments on the teaching methods now current in the District schools, it is quoted in full.

It is good to know that Latin is not a dead language in the District's high schools. It is so alive, in fact, that it is running ahead of other languages (except English, of course) in popularity. This will surprise a great many old-timers who had supposed that Latin could not survive the modern trends in education.

Even more interesting is the fact that Latin is losing out nearly everywhere but in Washington. There must be a reason for this anomaly and any one who has studied Latin probably can find the answer in the method of teaching now used here. Remember those declensions and conjugations that Latin students of yore had to mull over and memorize? They were enough to frighten any but the most brilliant of students from voluntarily enrolling in a Latin class, if given a choice. But all that memorizing routine has been eliminated from the local courses. Instead, Latin students are taught the language by being exposed to it in various ways. They are encouraged to "see Latin in everything they do," as Miss White, head of the Foreign Language Department of the public schools, explains it. They learn to inquire into the meaning of familiar and not-so-familiar Latin phrases, to detect the Latin origin of English words and even to sing well-known songs in Latin.

There is no reason to believe that today's students are less well grounded than those of the memorize-those-declensions-and-conjugations era. What is more important, they are willing students, intent on finding a Latin twist in words and phrases which have become a part of the English language. In short, the study of Latin has become a game instead of an ordeal—a game that holds the attention of the students and wins recruits for the courses. The Latin revival is gratifying, for this "dead" language is so much a part of our own tongue that every high school student should have the opportunity to study it.

It should be pointed out that the "revival" is not exactly recent. In the news item of December 7, Miss White is correctly quoted as paying tribute to Miss Mildred Dean, who was head of the Language Department from 1931 to 1941, and who was known and loved by hundreds of teachers throughout the country. Miss White is carrying on the splendid work begun by Miss Dean.

The statement in the editorial that "... Latin is losing out nearly everywhere but in Washington" is possibly a too sweeping conclusion drawn from Miss White's statement that the language is finding "a hard row to hoe" elsewhere. But as far as the Washington schools are concerned, the two accounts bestow fitting praise on the work being done by Miss White and her corps of teachers, and should be an inspiration to Latin teachers everywhere.

JOHN F. LATIMER

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 142, lines 10-12.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 156, lines 13-16.

**"GOOD TEACHING ..."**

[ED. NOTE: The following excerpt is reprinted in the belief that our readers, like ourselves, will be gratified to discover that a mother, writing in a women's magazine on the topic "If I Could Choose My Children's Teachers," has chosen a Latin teacher as the exemplification of all that she desires in a member of the teaching profession. The article appeared in the November, 1949 issue of *Woman's Day* (pp. 52, 94 f.); the excerpt is reprinted here through the courtesy of that magazine and of the author of the article, Mrs. Marion Walker Alcaro.]

... Good teaching is the ability to convey the impression that algebra, or spelling, or literature are, in themselves, valuable, significant, and exciting to learn—and then to demonstrate that this is so. It is salesmanship pure and simple.

I don't believe that any child is born liking one subject and loathing another. And yet every child develops these fervent likes and dislikes. They profoundly affect his entire future life. They determine whether the hours that he spends in classrooms, in the library and on homework are hours which are largely wasted. They depend on whether a subject has been inflicted upon him, or whether it has been sold to him, quite literally speaking, as a highly desirable acquisition.

My own encounters with the salesman technique of teaching were the high lights of those years when the new year began in September. In spite of the fact that I have a couple of diplomas somewhere up in the attic, these seem to be my only encounters with the roll book and report card set which have left any lasting impression.

When I was in high school, Miss Noble, my —— teacher, was considered exceptionally fine. Her accent was impeccable. Her pupils passed college boards. But she spooned out the subjunctive mood ... as if she were bored stiff. She didn't have a thing on me. I was bored stiff too. My most vivid memory of her class is of the squirrels that raced up and down an oak tree outside the window.

Miss Hathaway, my Latin teacher, used a different approach. She introduced us to that language as if she were presenting us with two on the aisle to high adventure. Under her direction, there was majestic music in the sonorous words. The Latin sentence, with every phrase and clause in place, became a thing of beauty and precision. We actually fought with Caesar, and listened to Cicero's ringing invective and stood beside Aeneas on the deck of his ship watching the smoke from Dido's funeral pyre. If there were any squirrels outside the window, I never saw them.

How much Latin and —— have I retained? When I went to —— a few years later the language flowed over me like syrup over pancakes. But I can still translate Virgil without a pony.

**REVIEWS**

**Party Politics in the Age of Caesar.** By LILY ROSS TAYLOR. ("Sather Classical Lectures," Vol. 22.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1949. Pp. viii, 255. \$3.50.

Ancient history has been, is to a large degree, and must inevitably be principally political history. The character of our sources, if nothing else, necessitates the political approach. To understand Roman history, therefore, one must understand Roman politics and the motives of Roman politicians. Our handbooks on Roman political institutions give us the framework of reference for such an understanding, but it is the purpose of the present book to show how the Roman politician during the last years of the Republic worked through and around these institutions to achieve his purpose.

Miss Taylor warns that "the European and American will be wrong if they think of the Roman parties in terms of the political parties they know in their own state" (p. 6). There were, it is pointed out (pp. 12 and 64), no large scale party organization, no fixed party line or program, no party caucus or ticket, and not even any regular election speeches.

The book might be divided into two approximately equal parts. The first, including the first four chapters, is systematic in organization, while the second is historical. The first lays down the rules under which the vicious game of politics was played, and the second describes the game itself in its last stages from 70 B.C. to the end of the Republic.

The first chapter clarifies the meaning that may be given to the word "party" as applied to Roman politics. The much abused terms *optimates* and *populares* are explained as applying to alignments of the senatorial nobility, in support of the authority of the senate on the one hand, and of the rights of the people on the other. The *optimates* were an oligarchical faction in the senate against whose obstructionism the *populares* appealed to the tribal assembly to secure the passage of their measures over the head of the senate. The discussion of the meaning of the terms *factio* and *partes* is one of the most valuable parts of this chapter.

The second chapter lays down the lines along which political alliances were formed and adherents won. Among the noble houses, distinguished by pride of family and wealth, alliances followed the lines of *amicitia*, which might be formed or cemented by such means as intermarriage or adoption, and which included influential *equites* who formed the aristocracy of the Italian

municipalities. A Roman politician of noble origin also inherited a constituency in the form of a body of clients, to which he constantly strove to add through his own efforts and by gaining the support of those of his friends. Since there was no large scale party organization, it was necessary for the individual to keep up these endless political fences, and Miss Taylor points out that every important man had to maintain a veritable secretariat of slaves and freedmen to assist with his voluminous correspondence.

Perhaps the most illuminating chapter in the book is that on "Delivering the Vote." Here it is shown how, through the system of election in the centuriate assembly, the Italians held a decisive influence in the choice of the all-important chief magistrates, while in the election of the lesser magistrates, and in legislation, the balance was tipped in favor of the urban *plebs* in the tribal assembly. Thus it became important at certain times to bring every available Italian to Rome, and at others to schedule assemblies when the rural tribesmen were not on hand. The whole process of voting and election is carefully analyzed and lucidly explained.

The manipulation of the state religion forms the subject of the fourth chapter. Here it is explained how divination and the convenient observation of unfavorable omens could be used to block the most important governmental business, unless someone like Caesar felt that he had strength enough to disregard the not particularly pious *tabus* invoked by a *Bibulus*.

In the second half of the book the author is on very familiar ground indeed, drawing, as she does, on the results of her numerous published studies centering upon Caesar and his career. Here we have a sketch of the history of the period, with attention focused on the political maneuverings of the leading men. Cicero's rise as a new man provides opportunity to consider the courts as a theater of political activity. A chapter on the "Optimates and Dynasts" is concerned principally with the use of propaganda and the control of public opinion. Here Miss Taylor accepts Caesar's *Commentaries on the Gallic War* as propagandistic and makes full use, as she does throughout the book, of the letters of Sallust to Caesar, the genuineness of which she accepts as proven. The final chapter on "Catonism and Caesarism" discusses Augustus' apparent synthesis of these two rival ideologies.

There was a place for a book in English on this perplexing subject, and Miss Taylor's authoritative, balanced, and readable treatment fills that place admirably. Several points deserve special attention. The author points out (p. 102), as she has argued elsewhere, that Cicero's aedileship was plebeian, and not curule as is usually stated. New also is the suggestion that it was Crassus, as a middle-of-the-road man, who effected the compromise leading to the new jury law in 70 B.C.

(p. 106 and note 24). The most valuable new suggestion proposed is to the effect that Cicero was officially rewarded for his successful prosecution of Verres by the award of Verres' vacated place and seniority in the senate. This suggestion is supported (pp. 112-16 and notes 48-60) by a most convincing discussion of the evidence for the general practice of awarding such *spolia* to successful accusers in criminal cases. It should, perhaps, have been noted in quoting the passage from Dio in note 51 that *athlón* is an emendation of Bekker for *allón*.

The period dealt with is the most fully documented epoch of ancient history, and yet, such are the lacunae in our information, and such the bias of our sources, that there must always be differences of opinion and interpretation of details. For example, it seems to me there is still some question as to whether Labienus' Picene extraction (p. 45) and personal ties with Pompey (p. 164) adequately explain his defection from Caesar. Again I should have expected some reference to Carcopino's theory on the minimum ages in the *cursus honorum* (*Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Historie Orientales*, II [1934], 56-69) as well as to Mommsen's conventional treatment (pp. 30 f.). On the *collegia* and *sodalitates* (p. 43 f. and notes) there is a valuable recent discussion by S. Accame: "La legislazione romana intorno ai collegi nel I secolo a. C." (*Bulletino del Museo dell' Impero Romano*, XIII [1942], 13-48). I also find it hard to believe that the tribes maintained regular headquarters in Rome as Miss Taylor supposes (pp. 53, 62 and note 73). The passage quoted from Suetonius does not necessitate such a supposition, and that from Cicero's *Murena* (note 75) suggests rather that temporary quarters were hired on special occasions. Then, though I hold no brief for Cato, it should hardly be stated that he "chipped in" on the election bribery in 60, when all that Suetonius says is that Cato did not deny that the bribery was in the interest of the state (p. 68 and note 100). On a matter of minor detail, *in parte Caesaris* (*Bell. Alex.* 7) should not be quoted as an instance of the use of *par* to refer to personal parties (p. 190, note 41), for in this passage it refers to Caesar's sector of Alexandria.

The printing of the book is generally excellent. I note only two errors in the text: "Casalina" for "Casilina" (p. 57) and a superfluous "for" (p. 64 bottom). The misprints are slightly more frequent in the notes: "iunioribus" for "iunioribus" and "sextantal" for "sextantal" (p. 203), "ferunter" for "feruntur" and "geen" for "been" (p. 207), "obtemparetut" for "obtemperaretut" (p. 213), and "Hos" for "Hoe" (p. 216).

These are all matters of detail, and in no way compromise the judgment that this book is an excellent exposition of a difficult subject. All students of Roman history will do well to read it, keep it at hand, and use

it as a corrective against the all too frequent loose interpretation of Roman politics in terms of modern parties.

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**The Aegean and the Orient in the Second Millennium B.C.** By HELENE J. KANTOR. (Archaeological Institute of America, Monograph No. 1.) Menasha, Wisconsin: George Banta Publishing Company, 1947. (Distributed by The Principia Press, Bloomington, Indiana.) Pp. 108; 26 plates. \$5.00.

Dr. Kantor of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, has produced a volume which, because of its comprehensive character and wealth of detailed evidence, will remain a definitive work which scholars will have to consult when dealing with the interrelations of the Aegean lands with Egypt, Palestine, Syria, and Anatolia in the Middle and Late Bronze Ages, the period between *ca.* 2000 and 1100 B.C. Regarding the Aegean from the oriental point of view, the author has presented the evidence of the influence which Crete and the Helladic Mainland exerted upon the cultures of Egypt and the Asiatic lands bordering on the Mediterranean.

Following the explanatory Preface, List of Abbreviations, and List of Illustrations, come the four chapters with their subdivisions. Two appendices (on Miletos and the "Flying Gallop"), an Index, and twenty-six plates conclude this work.

The first major expansion of Aegean trade and eastward spread of Minoan influence occurred in MM II (after *ca.* 2000 B.C.). Middle Minoan pottery and metal objects have been found in Egypt, at Ras Shamra (ancient Ugarit) in Syria, and elsewhere. Patterned cloths may have played a role in the exchange of ornamental motives in this period. Kretan merchants of the MM period seem to have visited ports in Egypt and Western Asia, to judge by the presence of various kinds of spiraliform ornaments in these regions.

"The Second Phase of Aegean Relations with the East" (Chapter II), to be dated in Late Helladic I-II (*ca.* 1600-1400 B.C.), is marked by the distribution of Aegean pottery in Egypt and Western Asia. At least six shapes of vases are recognized among the finds in these lands and, contrary to the idea of many scholars, the bulk of this pottery is to be derived, not from Minoan Crete, but from the Helladic Mainland in LH I-II. It now seems that Helladic objects found in Egypt and Egyptian influence in Hellas, for instance in the Shaft Graves at Mycenae, crossed directly over the sea without transshipment on the island of Crete.

In discussing (pp. 41-49) the "Aegeans in the Tributary Scenes of Egyptian Tombs," the author convincingly disproves Wainwright's localization of the men of Keftiu in Anatolia (Kilikia). While their Aegean character cannot be doubted, these Keftians cannot be differentiated into Minoans and Hellades (the reviewer's term for the Bronze Age Mainlanders) on the basis of physical appearance, dress, or vessels carried. However, the Helladic character of the majority of Aegean vessels found in Egypt points to the fact that the greater part of Aegean commerce with the East was now in the hands of mainland traders. The "Minoans still had some limited contact with Egypt, but ... [their] connections with Western Asia ... were lost to the mainlanders" (i.e. after *ca.* 1600 B.C.). This conclusion (p. 49) is one of the most significant results of Miss Kantor's study.

"The Contribution of Oriental Evidence to the Controversy over Cretan-Mainland Relations" is presented in considerable detail (pp. 49-55) and leads the author to object to the idea of a Minoan conquest of the Mainland. Of course, this is not new to some. For instance, the reviewer, as early as 1923 and 1925, and again in 1931,<sup>1</sup> opposed the theory propounded by the "Minoan School" (influenced largely by the prestige of Sir Arthur Evans) that Minoans of Crete ever ruled the Helladic Mainland. It is gratifying to find the theory disproved by one working from the Eastern side.

In Chapter III ("The Influence of the Aegean upon the Arts of Egypt and Western Asia in the late Bronze I and II Ages") various decorative motives, found in pottery, metal work, and textiles, are shown to be derived from Aegean prototypes. Helladic influence is likewise noted in Egyptian animal style and in the niello technique, seen for instance on the dagger of King Ahmose. Years ago, when the reviewer was championing the Helladic manufacture of the inlaid bronze daggers from the shaft graves at Mycenae, Dr. L. B. Holland suggested that a link between Mesopotamian and Helladic inlay-technique might be found in Kilikia. It is interesting to note that Miss Kantor states (p. 65) that the niello technique flourished in Syria during the Twelfth Dynasty (*ca.* 2000-1800 B.C.). The locality suggested by Dr. Holland is very close to Syria.

From a study of scenes of animal life and landscape, the author concludes that, certainly in the case of Egypt and possibly in the case of Asia, it was Hellas, not Crete, that was the important commercial power in LH I and II (pp. 73-78). But the greatest expansion of Aegean trade occurred in LH III (*ca.* 1400-1150 B.C.), when a

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the reviewer's paper, "The Peloponnesus in the Bronze Age," *HSPh*, XXXIV (1923), 1-61, at pp. 28-30; cf. also his *Prehistoric Aigina* (Paris, 1925), pp. 92-100. The 1931 paper referred to is "Helladic vs. Minoan," summarized in *AJA*, XXXVI (1932), 37.

common culture characterized the Mainland, Rhodes, and Cyprus. In this period Helladic influence is strongly evidenced in Western Asia, but less so in Egypt, except in the Amarna Age. In proof of this, evidence is adduced from objects decorated with human figures, sphinxes, and griffins, from the motive of the "Flying Gallop," and from other decorative forms.

In a "Conclusion" (pp. 102-4) the results of this study are clearly presented. One of the notable contributions of this work is the argument, convincingly presented, that it was the Helladic civilization, rather than the Minoan, which influenced Egypt and Western Asia from ca. 1600 B.C. on, especially after ca. 1400 B.C.

There seems very little to criticize in this work. The arguments are based on evidence from numerous sites and sources, and are illustrated by copious figures. A prodigious amount of research has gone into the preparation of this book. The works cited are amazingly numerous and comprehensive, and a point to be stressed is that this comparative study has been made by an "Orientalist" who is familiar with the arts of the Near East.

The arbitrary abbreviations of works cited (pp. 5-6) seem in many cases unnecessarily obscure. To take one instance, "ArtPG." for Perrot and Chipiez, *History of Art in Primitive Greece: Mycenaean Art* does not seem a happy choice of letters. But this is one of the most important works that has appeared in the field of the Aegean Bronze Age. Dr. Kantor has performed a valuable service for archaeologist and historian, in fact, for anyone interested in the interrelation of cultures in the Aegean and Eastern Lands during the second millennium B.C.

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**The Reign of the Emperor L. Septimius Severus from the Evidence of the Inscriptions.** By GERARD J. MURPHY. (Dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1945.) Jersey City, N. J.: St. Peter's College Press, 1947. Pp. viii, 113. \$1.60.

This dissertation illustrates both the value and the limitations of the contribution of epigraphy to the study of Roman imperial history. Inscriptions of the Severan period are very numerous, but do not by themselves furnish adequate material for a connected history; they are, however, invaluable aids in supplementing, modifying, or correcting information drawn from the other sources. Dr. Murphy therefore does not attempt to write or to rewrite the history of the reign of Severus, but wisely chooses to discuss a series of topics for which the epigraphical evidence is of major importance. His selection is a good one, and probably no student of the period will need to be warned that, despite an am-

biguous statement in the last paragraph of the introduction, the epigraphical evidence is neither treated nor cited in full.

The six chapters deal first with the Civil and the Parthian Wars and the years 199-211, and then with administrative changes, innovations in the army, and the milestones. There are seven short appendices; in them acclamations and titles are treated, and information on members of Severus' household is presented. Most of the subjects are discussed briefly and sensibly, and although a reader who is familiar with the period may find little new evidence or interpretation, he will be grateful to Dr. Murphy for his collection of so many documents in so handy a form.

One reviewer has already noted that while the title page bears the date 1945, the work itself must have been completed much earlier. This will explain the author's unfamiliarity with recent studies which bear on the points treated; the first volumes of the new edition of the *PIR* would have been particularly useful, and specialists will note other omissions. In general, however, the conclusions reached by Dr. Murphy will require little or no alteration; thus his discussion of the date of the fall of Ctesiphon is sound as far as it goes, and the author need not be embarrassed by the discovery of the *Feriale Duranum*.

Occasional errors and inaccuracies are to be expected in any work which deals with a large and varied mass of material, but the number of such slips in this dissertation seems unusually great. Most of these may annoy but will not mislead the reader: thus *Spartium* (p. 1, note 1), *Brindisium* (p. 23), the variation from *Caelimontani* (p. 31) to *Coelmontani* (p. 33) to *Coelmontoni* (p. 33), *Canacalla* (p. 34, note 39), *Bastru* (p. 80, note 1), *Acrasium* (p. 87), the change from *Caput-tasacoram* (p. 93) to *Caputtasacoram* (p. 94), *Via Traiani* (p. 97), *sesterii* (p. 108), *Epigraphico* (in an Italian title) and *Albertumswissenschaft* (p. 109) are but a few examples of such trivial errors as will not cause misunderstanding and would not deserve mention here were it not for their frequency. The statement (p. 45) that "... Q. Anicius Faustus is entitled *leg. III. Aug. . . .*" though repeated (p. 73, note 95), is no doubt a similar slip, and the occasional preference for the erroneous form *imperator designatus* (pp. 7, 25) need cause little concern.

Although it is easy to forgive such errors, it is hard to see why the author (p. 26) prefers to cite *AE*, 1904, 198 instead of *CIL*, VI, 36936, or refers in the same paragraph (p. 87) to *CIL*, III, 482 and 12271 as though these were separate inscriptions, or particularly why he so seldom uses any collections of Greek inscriptions other than the *CIG* and *IGRR*. In some cases at least it would have been of advantage to have compared these last two works: thus *CIG*, 3180, for example (p. 87), should have a reference to *IGRR*, IV, 1483, and

*CIG*, 3882g (not 38829 as cited on p. 86) is corrected in *IGRR*, IV, 674 = 698. Reference (p. 104, note 10) to *CIG*, 353 for an important Athenian inscription is poor procedure at best, and Dr. Murphy is doubly unwise to differ from the body of scholarly opinion on this document without consulting either the text in *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1077 or the discussion in *CAH*, XII, 41, note 1, or in M. Platnauer, *The Life and Reign of ... Severus* (London, 1918), p. 137, note 2.

Defects such as these make it necessary for the reader to be on his guard while using this volume, but none the less Dr. Murphy's collection of evidence will prove useful to students of the period. The treatment of the *miliaria* is particularly helpful, and the interest of the conclusions drawn from the evidence is such that one becomes increasingly eager to see the publication of the volume of the *CIL* which will be devoted to the milestones. In the meantime a supplement to one of the problems discussed in this interesting chapter will be found in an article by H. U. Instinsky (*Klio*, XXXI [1938], 33-50).

In his introduction Dr. Murphy informs us that "Chapter III sets forth *inter alia* a new hypothesis, that of a serious insurrection in the year 207." This hypothesis is based mainly on *CIL*, VIII, 1628 (*ILS*, 429), III, 427 (*ILS*, 430), and III, 10473 (*ILS*, 1153), and these inscriptions had not escaped the notice of earlier scholars. Dessau, in his note on *ILS*, 430, suggests a connection with the episode of Apronianus, and says in reference to *ILS*, 1153 that the document may indicate "*tumultus aliquis praeterea nobis ignotus*." In *CAH*, XII, 22 the inscriptions are cited, and the comment is there made that "... from regions as far asunder as Africa, Asia, and the Rhineland there is evidence of disorder still more serious than brigandage." This evidence, then, was already known. Dr. Murphy has, however, performed a valuable service by insisting on the extent and gravity of the disturbances which occurred within the empire at this time. One may understand that the limitations of space prevented his mention of the work of previous scholars in this connection.

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**Horace: A Biography.** By HENRY DWIGHT SEDGWICK. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1947. Pp. ix, 182. \$3.00.

If good wine needs no bush, one's first thought is that rather too many twigs of ivy obscure the merits of this little book—e.g. an effort to introduce the comparative note by speculating on the circumstances under which Lord Byron and Winston Churchill would have enjoyed Horace (p. vii), a strained metaphor on the

Civil War to include Robert Louis Stevenson's figure of blood that "ran in the scuppers of the ship of state" (p. 11), colloquial allusions to the continuing assiduity in times of stress which induced the young Cicero in Athens "to bring Professor Cratippus to dinner" (p. 18), praise for the eloquence of Maecenas as evidenced by a speech assigned to him by Dio, "which in substance might have been made by Alexander Hamilton, or Queen Elizabeth's Lord Burleigh" (p. 28).

These examples have been selected from the first thirty pages of the book and the list could be extended in proportion. If they are not actually objectionable, neither are they necessary to the purpose that the author has in mind, which is to present a vivid and sympathetic picture of a Roman poet of genial and reflective tastes, cast by Fortune in a variety of rôles among the great, the near-great, and the obscure, whose conduct was more human than perfect, and whose observations on the pageant of life have left untouched few of the problems that confront us today.

It is a pleasure to note the careful and thorough-going manner in which this task has been undertaken, for the friendships and enmities that hover about the persons of Cicero, Brutus, Augustus, and others have been described with detailed attention to the political currents of the age without which they could mean little, and more than one closely written chapter of historical résumé is concluded with a lively paragraph of appraisal that brings one back to Horace as to a breath of fresh air.

The book belongs to the class of those through which the enthusiasm of the author for his task shines with complete clarity. In a few instances an attempt is made to present the arguments on disputed points, such as the presence of Horace at Actium or his ownership of a house at Tivoli, but these are not the most characteristic or pleasing parts of the work. Mr. Sedgwick, one feels, is having more fun when he writes the chapters that he has entitled "*Desipere in loco*" or "*La Femme*"; certainly he gives more pleasure to his readers at these times.

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**The Epitome of Andreas Vesalius.** Translated by L. R. LIND, with anatomical notes by C. W. ASLING. ("Historical Library, Yale Medical Library," No. 21.) New York: Macmillan, 1949. Pp. xxxvi, 103; 25 plates. \$7.50.

The publication in 1543 of two works of Vesalius, the monumental *De corporis humani fabrica* and the short summary thereof, called *Epitome*, was a notable event in the history of science and medicine. Dr. Lind has now given us an accurate and useful English translation, the first ever published, of the *Epitome*, and also a facsimile reproduction of the exceedingly scarce Latin text

of this work. Together with the recently published translation of the *Tabulae anatomicae sex* by Charles Singer and C. B. Rabin (Cambridge, 1946) and the forthcoming translation of the *Fabrika* by J. B. de C. M. Saunders and C. D. O'Malley, Dr. Lind's book forms part of an important corpus of Vesalian material available to English readers.

The book contains also a list of the Greek marginal glosses on the Latin text, with an English translation; this addition will be valuable for students of anatomical nomenclature. Of great interest, too, is the detailed commentary on the *Epitome*, written from the viewpoint of the modern anatomist, by Dr. C. W. Asling.

Vesalius' life and works have raised numerous questions, still unsolved. What artist, for example, made the very fine wood blocks for the eleven famous figures of the *Epitome*, depicting the bones, muscles, veins, arteries, nerves, external regions, and internal organs of the body? Dr. Lind holds (p. xxii) that the artist "very probably" was Jan van Calcar. Singer and Rabin (*Tabulae sex*, pp. iii, x-xi) convincingly argue that this is most unlikely. Incidentally, the work of Singer and Rabin is not mentioned by Lind.

Dr. Lind's new version of the *Epitome* will undoubtedly help to further studies in this fruitful and relatively uncultivated field.

MIRIAM DRABKIN

NEW YORK CITY

## NOTES AND NEWS

This department will deal with events of interest to classicists; the contribution of pertinent items will be welcomed. Also welcome will be items for the section on *Personalia*, which will deal with appointments, promotions, fellowships, and other professionally significant activities of our colleagues in high schools, colleges, and universities.

The Department of Classics of Brown University held its Annual Latin Christmas Carol Service on Tuesday, December 13, 1949. The program was broadcast over WPJB-FM. The announcement of the event concludes with the following *sententia*: CARPE DIEM! GEORGIVS WASHINGTON NVMQVAM VENIT: IAM NON POTEST.

Professor John F. Latimer of George Washington University reports that his institution's School of Medicine has received from the people of the liberated Dodecanese Islands a nine-foot replica of a statue of Hippocrates, the original of which was found on one of the Islands. The presentation was made by Dr. Skevos Zervos, an authority on Hippocrates, his fellow-islander and fellow-physician, at a dedication ceremony held on December 7, 1949. Similar statues will be presented to thirty or forty other medical schools in this country.

## ROCKFORD COLLEGE FRESHMAN SCHOLARSHIPS

For entering students in Latin or in history, Rockford College offers a scholarship of \$600 (\$300 each year for two years). It is awarded on the basis of competitive examinations, high school record and recommendations, score on an aptitude test, and other pertinent information. Application for the scholarship must be filed by March 1, and awards will be announced in May. Additional information and application forms can be secured from the Director of Admissions, Rockford College, Rockford, Illinois.

## BOOKS RECEIVED

Here will be listed all books received by THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY the subjects of which are deemed to fall within the WEEKLY's scope. Listing here neither precludes nor assures a subsequent review. Books received will not be returned, whether or not they are listed or reviewed.

KASTEN, H. (ed.). *Oratio pro P. Sulla*. REIS, P. (ed.). *Oratio pro Archia Poeta* (= *M. Tulli Ciceronis Scripta Quae Manserunt Omnia*, Fasc. 19). 2d ed.; Leipzig: Teubner, 1949. Pp. x, 62. \$1.00.

KLORZ, A. (ed.). *Oratio pro Sex. Roscio Amerino* (= *M. Tulli Ciceronis Scripta Quae Manserunt Omnia*, Fasc. 8). 2d ed.; Leipzig: Teubner, 1949. Pp. viii, 63. \$0.90.

KOESTERMANN, ERICUS (ed.). *Germania, Agricola, Dialogus de Oratoribus* (= *P. Cornelii Taciti Libri Qui Supersunt*, Tom. II, Fasc. 2). 7th ed.; Leipzig: Teubner, 1949. Pp. 110. \$1.20.

KOESTERMANN, ERICUS (ed.). *P. Cornelii Taciti Germania*. 7th ed.; Leipzig: Teubner, 1949. Pp. 32. \$0.35.

LATTE, KURT (ed.). *Theocriti Carmina*. Iserlohn: Silva-Verlag, 1948. Pp. 109. DM 3.

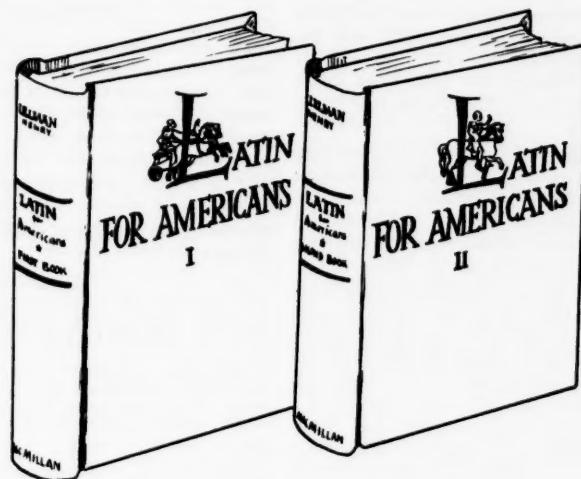
SCHUSTER, MAURITIUS (ed.). *Catulli Veronensis Liber*. Leipzig: Teubner, 1949. Pp. xiv, 153. \$2.25 (bound).

SNELL, BRUNO (ed.). *Bacchylidis Carmina cum Fragmentis*. 6th ed.; Leipzig: Teubner, 1949. Pp. liv, 142. \$4.75 (bound).

WILDE, ROBERT. *The Treatment of the Jews in the Greek Christian Writers of the First Three Centuries*. ("Catholic University of America, Patristic Studies," Vol. LXXXI.) Washington, D. C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1949. Pp. xviii, 239.

## ERRATUM

On page 81 (Contents, No. 6), under "Reviews," the second item should read, "R. P. WINNINGTON-INGRAM, *Euripides and Dionysus* (Gordon M. Kirkwood)."



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